1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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of the goat killed at his wife's funeral. But sons inherit from their mother all but purely feminine forms of property, which pass to her daughters or to her sons' wives. Thus the eldest son inherits all cash left by his mother, and also all her debts, the husband not being held responsible for these. The son inherits her bean farm and passes it on to his wife. He also inherits her goats; but cooking utensils and feminine ornaments pass to her daughter, if she is old enough for marriage, or to her son's wives.

Birth and Marriage Ceremonies.—When a married woman conceives her first child the event is celebrated, four months after conception, by a feast provided by the husband, who invites all his own and his wife's relatives. Large quantities of beer are consumed and hopes are expressed that the woman will be safely delivered of a sturdy child. A leech is sometimes called in during pregnancy to administer medicine, but pregnancy does not involve a state of taboo and no religious rites are performed such as we find in the neighbouring tribe of the Berom, where the husband shaves the wife's head and leads her blindfold to the cave of the priest of Mbon. The Katab woman counts the months of her pregnancy by putting a circular dot of red earth on her thigh for the first month, two for the second, and so on. And so if you see a woman with five red dots on her legs or body you will know that she has been enceinte for five months. The husband keeps his own tally secretly, in case his wife runs off before she gives birth.

The woman does not, as among most tribes, go to her mother's home to bear her first child; but after the confinement she takes her new-born babe to her own home and remains there for three or four months, the reason given being that she will be better cared for among her own people than in her husband's home. During the confinement she is attended by wives of her husband's father or brother, but modesty would forbid the presence of the husband's mother. She is delivered sitting on a stone or on the wooden tray on which she is accustomed to carry head loads. The tray thereafter bears a semi-sacred character and a Katab woman will often swear an oath on her tray saying: "If I did so-and-so may I die with my next child." Should the babe be dilatory in beginning to breathe, a hoe is beaten with a piece of iron to rouse its energy. The umbilical cord is severed with a razor at about an inch from the

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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844 [824] base. The cord was in former times planted with a seed yam and the spot marked. When the yam grew up it was pounded and given to the child to eat, in the belief that it would add to his strength. The stump of the cord is licked constantly for a few days by the midwife, who uses mouthfuls of hot water. No beliefs are attached to the placenta, which is buried at the back of the house. Twins are not considered unlucky. Nor are albinoes. But idiotic or deformed children were taken to the bush and abandoned. The mother's abdomen is swathed in string bandages, which she continues to wear throughout the weaning period, the intention being to preserve the figure. She also keeps her body regularly smeared with red earth, as this is believed to be good for her milk. This custom is widespread in Nigeria, being found, e.g. among the Kare-kare of Bornu. The original object of the practice was probably to ward off evil influences, but it serves as a public announcement that she is weaning a child, an announcement which is advisable, as a woman may not have sexual relations during the lactation period, which among the Katab is reckoned as three years, a rule which must act as a check on sub-marriages.

845 847 853 [171] [833]

553 A name for the child may be chosen by the father, mother, or relative. There is no fixed rule. A friend, or even a stranger staying in the house at the time of the birth, may ask that his name may be given to the child. Parents commonly confer the names of dead relatives, such as a grandfather or grandmother's or father's brother. Or the name given may have reference to some accidental circumstance at the time of birth. Thus a man called his daughter "Matan Malam", i.e. wife of a "malam"[1] because a "malam" was staying in his house on the day she was born. He called another daughter "Ladi" because she was born on Sunday.[2] One mother called her third daughter Kadayinkina, "You know I was right", as a reproof to a rival wife. Some common names are Ayashim (Friend of man), Tado (The Strong), Kaza (God), Duniya (Experience of the World). The name is assigned two days after birth without any ceremony. But if the mother had been unfortunate and lost a number of children previously, a ceremony accompanied by beer and prayers for the child's welfare would be held, the priest (Magaji Elenowum) being summoned for the occasion.

[1] A "malam" is a Muslim teacher.

[2] Lahadi or Ladi = Sunday.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

Women of all sections of the Katab tribe also wear a stud or plug (about half-an-inch in diameter and length) in the upper lip. This is not an uncommon feature in Nigeria, but is not found among immediately adjacent peoples, so far as can be determined, and so effectively sets off members of the Katab Group from their neighbours all around.

As distinctive as the *oyam*, though surprisingly neglected by Meek in his definition of the Katab culture-complex, is the massive head-board or tray on which women of the Katab Group carry their loads: this is of unusual size, often a yard long and half as wide, and ovoid (or an elongated octagon) in shape: it is carved of a light-weight wood, flat, with a low rim, sometimes decorated with incised geometrical (rarely, stylized but realistic animal) figures, and invariably stained with red ochre. Meek notes that among the Katab proper a mother delivers her child on her head-board which "thereafter bears a semi-sacred character." The precise distribution of this article cannot be determined, but it does not appear to be used outside the area now occupied by the Katab Group.[7]

The dress of men of the Katab Group does not seem to be distinctive in any particular detail. The traditional garb appears to have been a skin loin-covering, and elders were distinguished by a skin across the shoulders. To-day, cloth is commonly used in place of skin; Hausa-Fulani caps, particularly the *fula*, and gowns, even the *riga*, may be worn by elders in civil occupations. But the priests maintain traditional styles, and all cloth is cast off at religious observances. There is some evidence that certain members of the Group,[8] if not all, wear the penis-sheath—an item virtually universal among tribes immediately to the east and south, in Plateau Province, though apparently not found in historic times westward in Nigeria.

Tribal marks of the same pattern are worn by Katab proper, Ataka, Ikulu, Kagoro, Kaje, Kamantan, and Moroa: for a man, these consist of 41 vertical scars across the forehead, nine on each cheek, and a fringe of 24 tiny cuts along the edge of the jaw; they are similar for a woman, but number 55, 17, and 26 respectively. In addition women receive intricate markings on chest, abdomen, and back. According to Meek (1931) "boys commonly refuse to be marked" to-day; the position as regards women is not clearly stated, but adult women attending the Kafanchan market in 1949–50 with very few exceptions had the markings described. There is no clear information regarding the markings used, if any, by Jaba, Kachichere, Kagoma, and Kaninkon. Early investigators ascribe the invention of these marks to the Katab proper.

(iv) *Social Organization: Marriage Customs*

Katab practices do not clearly distinguish the members of the Group from certain of their neighbours (especially the peoples of the Kauru hills, the Chawai, Irigwe, Kadara, even—according to D. A. Percival—the Shuwalbe and Buli tribes of Fulani in the area, among others); but the practices outlined below are apparently universal among members of the Group, with the possible exception of Kaninkon, about whom no information is available.

(*a*) *Secondary Marriage Constituting Serial Polyandry:* A virgin goes to live as a wife with a man who has made customary payments and performed farm-labour for her parents. After a period fixed by public opinion as decorous, she may leave her first (primary) husband to live with another man, who has secretly won her favour and secured by payments to her parents rights over children which she may bear him: she is, thus, his wife in every sense, but her primary marriage has not been dissolved, and she may, in due course, return to her primary husband. In theory, she may add indefinitely to the number of her husbands, circulating among them, living with each in turn for as long as she chooses (but never less than the fixed period); in practice, however, the number is usually small, and a woman may

[7] Wooden head-trays are used elsewhere, most notably by near neighbours of the Katab peoples on the High Plateau, but patterns differ radically from the Katab.

[8] Namely, Katab proper, according to Meek in *Northern Tribes*, though he fails to mention the subject in *Tribal Studies*, Moroa, according to Temple, and Kaje, according to Reynolds.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

these imposed duties " he was careful to mind his own business. Any excessive zeal would be rewarded with an arrow."

Under British Administration the system has altered considerably (quite apart from the prohibition of slavery). The Katuka, living permanently at Zangon Katab, is directly responsible to the Emir; the Katab tribal area has been divided, presumably on a strictly territorial basis, into seven Village-areas, and while the headmen of six of these seem to be " heirs " of the former heads of the sub-clans and small clans, it should be noted that the old Aswen administrative unit has apparently undergone fission, and a new, seventh, head has been created, on a basis as yet unknown.

The Katuka is said to have bowed to tradition in the matter of ceremonial and procured two swords of Prussian manufacture from Kauru, which are used in the installation of Village-area headmen in certain cases; here again, the available materials are difficult to interpret, but it seems that although the Katab have never had a tribal chief recognizable as such, Minyaln clan appears to occupy a prominent position, presumably as a result of which the Katuka has " issued " the ceremonial swords to the heads of Aswen and Fakan, who, according to Meek, " use the swords for swearing-in minor officials " of those two sub-clans only.[23]

Meek states further that the sub-clan and clan headmen " combine to form a native court which sits monthly at each of the sub-clan headquarters." The sub-clan [sic: head?] and elders also, form a deliberative assembly. Oaths were most frequently resorted to in cases of paternity, failure to settle which, by arbitration, might end in the administration of poison to fowls representing the parties to the dispute. A women may take an oath on her head-board, " May I die in childbirth if I lie! ". Traditionally, cases within a lineage of virtually any sort, with the possible exception of murder and theft, which are likely to have been very rare, were handled by the lineage heads. Within the sub-clan cases appear to have been settled by arbitration, perhaps by a disinterested lineage head. In inter-clan disputes it seems that another clan or sub-clan might adjudicate, but the position is not entirely clear.

Inheritance

In general " a man's property and titles pass to his sons or paternal nephews, brothers or paternal cousins," but Meek records exceptional cases where a sister's son received a share of the property of the deceased, and a man inherited from his maternal grandfather's widow. Females do not inherit from males, husbands from wives, parents from children, or grandchildren from grandparents, other than wives, as indicated already. Succession is by preference first to collaterals; inheritance equally to adult lineal descendants (sons).

The Life Cycle

Birth

To celebrate the first conception of a (married) woman, a " beer-feast " is held by the prospective father " for all his own and his wife's relatives." In general there are no religious observances in connection with pregnancy, however, though a specialist may be called in to administer " medicine " from time to time. The mother is delivered—sitting on her head-board—in her husband's compound,

Nigeria). It appears that the Katab occasionally rallied " to drive the chief of Kauru out of Zangon Katab and pillage the Hausa inhabitants", but their relationship with Kauru may well have been to some extent voluntary, as it enabled them to dispose of murderers, thieves, and possibly certain other kinds of criminals also. Whether these criminals were in effect deducted from their annual dues is not clear, but it seems unlikely.

[23] On the other hand, Meek adds that " no village headman would feel that he had been properly appointed if he had not been shown the sword," so that it seems possible that between them the heads of Aswen and Fakan may play an important part in confirming all the Village-area heads of the Katab tribe.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

844 but subsequently spends three or four months " in her own home " (presumably her paternal compound? In societies where secondary marriage is common, a special connection with the mother, wherever she may reside, is usual, however).

According to Meek, co-wives of the father's mother attend the birth. The umbilical cord is severed with a razor, and was formerly planted with a seed yam which, when mature, was fed to the child: current practice is not stated. The placenta is casually buried " at the back of the house "; no beliefs are attached to it, according to Meek, but his diagram of a Katab compound shows that the [304] mother's " bean-garden " lies at the back of her house. It was stated in 1921 that boys are circumcised at birth, but Meek does not mention circumcision.

553 Naming, usually a more or less casual matter, is performed two days after
304 birth. If the mother has lost a number of children, the *elenowum* (presumably of the father's lineage) may at this time preside over ceremonial beer-drinking with prayers. Every child's uvula is clipped on the naming day.

851 According to Meek, the first child is taken when two months old to the home of the wife's parents who, after an interval of a month, summon the husband and hold a feast. " Prayers are offered for the child's welfare by the wife's father or brother, who then delivers him back to the husband, saying, ' Take this child in full payment of the labour which you [when a suitor] expended on my farm.' The second child has to be redeemed, at the present day, by a money payment of seven shillings, which is regarded as compensation to the wife's parents for expenditure incurred on her . . . trousseau. If the payments were not made the wife's parents could retain the child. . ." Meek does not indicate how the time of this ceremonial fits in with the return of the wife to her parents' compound for a period of months, as already described.

853 During the period of lactation it is common practice for a mother to cover her
834 entire body and head with red ochre, to improve her supply of milk. Until the child is weaned, intercourse between mother and father is prohibited, this period
513 lasting up to three years. Boys sleep in their mother's hut till they are five years of age, girls until they marry.

597 Meek writes of " adoption " among the Katab, which might be described more accurately as " sharing " or " lending " children, " to a respected paternal relative who has fewer children . . . or requires an additional worker on his farm. Male children are not handed over to a maternal relative in this way; but . . . a man has to ransom his second child [of whichever sex] by a money payment to his wife's parents. Female children are, however, sometimes handed over to the mother's parents; but when such children marry, the mother's parents are not entitled to receive the bride-price."

Initiation

852 There appears to be no record of circumcision among Katab proper. Tribal
[304] initiation, according to Meek, takes the form of initiation into the public cult of *obwai*,[84] associated apparently with the private ancestral cult, but there are no elaborate initiation rites. Children, presumably boys only, of four to eight years are taken to the *obwai* hut, warned to be obedient to their parents and given food. The short ceremony ends with a form of baptism in a stream, the smearing of the boys' heads with mahogany oil, and a feast in the village. Though it is not made clear, this initiation no doubt occurs at the appearance of the *obwai*. It appears that no personal insignia are issued to the individual, at this time, at least (contrast Kaje, p. 112 below).

304 Boys receive their facial markings later, " some years after they have begun to engage in agricultural work." Girls receive their markings in connection with their primary marriage (see below), probably at much the same age as boys, since girls marry very young. Marking is apparently done individually and without particular rites or ceremonies.

[84] See below, p. 79.

co-operative society, the women's friendly societies of the senior mission of the district, and the beer-brewing groups among pagan women, though in what respects the last is a new development is not stated.

Land Tenure: Cole states that "breakdown to individual tenure" has proceeded—by implication since Administration—even further among Kagoro than among Katab, a conclusion difficult to defend. In fact, the number of adult males per compound (1.6) is smaller than among Katab proper,[80] but it is not clear that this situation is entirely new. Cole notes that in pre-British times it was customary for a clan, lineage or domestic unit "to farm lands in several widely dispersed areas and not in one compact bloc." It would not be surprising if, under these circumstances, the size of the domestic unit had decreased[81] since Administration, but the facts are virtually impossible to establish on the basis of available information, and Cole himself states that the figure for adult males per compound has remained stationary as far back as the records show it (to 1939 only). More important, it would appear that land is normally as much clan property as ever, but, that where clan rights over land have been curtailed in any respect, it is the power of the civil heads, both in the Village-areas and in the District, not the power of the individual, that has grown correspondingly.

It is noteworthy, however, that traditionally the marshlands of Kagoro Independent District were, as Smith observes, *res nullius*, and remained so until 1946. Coco yam and *tumuku* (Hausa) were until that time the main crops, but the introduction of rice in 1941 and its development as a cash crop has given marsh plots a new significance. It was said in 1950 that all marshland was under cultivation. Marsh plots and the crops grown on them are individually owned, but as no case of inheritance has come before the courts, it cannot be said definitely what rights, if any, over marsh plots may accrue to lineages and clans in time.

Miscellaneous: Pig-rearing is an important activity, said to have been introduced a generation ago largely as a result of the efforts of the senior mission in the area, and is approached only by rice-growing as a source of income to the District. Wages may be earned by men in the employ of the missions, the railway, the mining companies in the general area, the army, and the Native Authority.

The principle expenditures of cash, according to Smith, are for meat, most household utensils and metal goods, salt, kerosene, soap, and clothing;[82] to this list tax may be added. Pots are generally bought direct from Ataka potters of Moroa District; for the remainder of the goods listed Kagoro depend on the trading community in the District.

Crafts in the District seem to be limited to basketry, including the manufacture of the *oyam*, by women; house-building, mat-making, and a little woodwork (most notably the woman's headboard) by men.[83]

Regarding "the traditional economy" in general, Smith concludes that no great changes have as yet taken place.

The Life Cycle

Birth

Tremearne reports that among Kagoro there is no "festivity" at the birth of a child, but that a gift is presented to the mother's father, "otherwise the grandfather owns" the child. Apart from these, Tremearne apparently found it impossible to make generalizations: of various accounts which he received he reports only one, that some Kagoro burn the umbilical cord when it is dropped, the ashes are mixed with grease and "rubbed on the child's head to harden it." According to

[80] Cf. discussion of Kagoro domestic unit, pp. 91–2 above.

[81] Cf. contrasting materials produced by Cole from among Jaba of Kwoi (Jaba Independent District), and Jaba of Kachia District, cited below.

[82] Cloth is more common to-day than formerly, but in general Kagoro conform to traditional standards in dress, and the Ankwei ban on cloth at ritual performances appears still to hold.

[83] In this connection Smith notes: "European-type carpentry providing domestic furniture has been assimilated by Kagoro."

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Kaje

Life Cycle

Birth

844

According to Temple, a new-born child and its mother are bathed in cold water. On the fourth day, the child is taken outside its mother's hut for the first time, and is named in the presence of the women of the compound; by the father if a boy, the mother if a girl. Elders assemble for the naming of twins, which is delayed until seven days after birth, and is the occasion of a ritual feast.[115]

Initiation

852 794

It has already been indicated that *obwai* (*abwai*) obtains among Kaje: in general initiation into the cult follows the pattern of Katab proper, but Reynolds' exhaustive account of Kaje practices (of which only a brief summary can be given here) reveals details which may clarify certain obscurities in the Katab record.

[346]

According to Reynolds it is believed that Suryan (Baimbin tribal section) introduced the *dodo* (*abwai*) into the area, and it has spread to much of the tribe, essentially along the lines of lineage structure. Generally, each minor lineage has a *dodo* hut,[116] but this is dependent on the size of the group and relations between lineages; some may share the same hut. The lineage which first obtained the *dodo* is recognized as the senior group in cult matters of the area, and its *gado abwai* (Magajin dodo) is recognized as senior and may or may not perform the functions of *gado kapiyi* or *atiyinhwap*. Each *dodo* hut has its own *gado abwai*, the post normally passing from father to brother or to eldest son, with three helpers, all with Hausa titles, selected by the *gado abwai*.

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[534]

The *abwai* is regarded as an invisible spirit, identified by initiates with the wind instrument which provides its "voice."[117] Other disembodied spirit-voices are also associated with the cult; *dodone* associated primarily not with initiation but with memorial rites for a deceased *gado abwai* will be described below.

Reynolds states that there are no special times for entering the cult, provided the "entrance fee"—said to be a number of fowls, a quantity of beer and a goat—is paid. Youths of the group who are old enough will normally enter at the same time, after harvest and before the first sowing. All who enter at the same time are of the same seniority and earlier entrants are, progressively, senior to them.

Initiation begins when the boys are assembled at night in the compound of the *gado abwai*, in a common sleeping hut, where they are told stories of the *abwai* to frighten them and its voice is heard outside. At dawn, when the voice of Riyam (the wife of *abwai*) is heard, they are taken by sponsors into the *dodo* hut. They are beaten, then *gado abwai* and older members gather in the hut; women and children remain outside at a safe distance.

The boys are shown the instrument which produces the voice of *abwai*, and are beaten to prompt them to reveal any knowledge of it which they may have and to betray their informant. At last they are grudgingly shown how to blow upon it and as each does so he is proclaimed a man. They are then shown a decapitated fowl, and are again beaten, and through skilful interrogation led to say that what they see is the body of a man and his severed head. The head of the fowl and some of its blood are placed in a calabash of beer, which is stirred with a knife. Then each youth, holding the knife in his right hand, takes the oath of secrecy. Finally he drinks the calabash of blood and beer. At the conclusion of the oath-taking Riyam "vomits" the initiated youths, and they are flung bodily out of the hut. They are then taken to the bush and, finally, bathe themselves

[115] Cf. Temple's account of Jaba ritual at birth, below, p. 118.

[116] From Reynolds' description it is round, not like the conventional dwelling hut, with a "piece of pottery covered with spikes" on the peak.

[117] It consists of a pod of *Oncoba spinosa*, with the seeds removed and two holes at either end. A white spider's web (or membranous white disc, under which the eggs are sealed for protection) is placed over one end and warmed until it is taut. Another "voice" is made from a piece of bamboo, 4–6 ins. long.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Jaba

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY

631 At the time of the transfer of Jaba District from Jema'a Division to Zaria Province, in 1934, it was stated that the District comprised "27 villages[125] whose heads are directly responsible to the Pop Ham [chief of Jaba]," a situation comparable to that seen in Moroa; a current list of Village-areas was not accessible in Zaria, but various reports suggest the possibility that a smaller number has emerged in recent years as a result of reorganization.

621 According to Meek, the village constitutes the group within which a man may not seek a secondary wife. He indicates that there are further administrative and social sub-divisions, "wards" (=hamlets? cf. Kagoro, farther above), these being 582 exogamous as well as local groupings; but Cole stresses the fact that "kindreds" (that is, kinship groupings of the largest scale) are dispersed among two or more villages (perhaps sometimes not even contiguous), as a general rule.

621 A report made in 1933 by Barnicot states that in Kachia District Jaba are divided into five "clans" and "six Village-areas." In 1949 Cole gives five Village-areas, each equated with a "kindred." What order of kinship grouping the hamlet constitutes in Kachia is not known.

In Kagarko District, Jaba are found in three Village-areas dominated by other tribal groups; in Yeskwa they are settled with Yeskwa in two Village-areas. In Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate (Plateau Province), Kano, Kirti, and Kusan are currently identified by Administration as Jaba; they are separated from Jaba District of Zaria by Kagoma tribal settlement, and it is noteworthy that until 1934, at least, and possibly even more recently, these same villages were labelled Kagoma by all investigators.

692 A Jaba tribal court was organized in Jaba District in 1935, and appears to have been designed to serve the entire Jaba community of Zaria Province, both in and out of the Emirate; but data from Kachia District indicate that Jaba there may have recourse to the local Native Court (Kadara-Kuturmi), on which elders representing all clans of Kachia Jaba sit. On the other hand, decisions taken in Jema'a Emirate with respect to Jaba there are known to have been reversed in conformity with advice given by Pop Ham.

LIFE-CYCLE

Birth

775 According to Temple, "the Jaba believe that the souls of the dead can enter the womb of a living woman and be reborn" (but see also *Religious Beliefs*, below).
844 At birth the mother and child are bathed in cold water. On the fourth day the child
553 is taken from its mother's hut and named (by the father if a boy, the mother if a girl) in the presence of the women of the compound. Twins, however, are not named till the seventh day, when elders of the village—and so, presumably, of the large-scale kinship unit—meet to perform the ceremony and partake of a feast provided by the father.

584 Temple states that a girl is betrothed at birth, claimed by right by the first eligible man to see her (cf. Katab and Kaje).

Initiation

[304] It is not stated whether circumcision is in fact a practice of Jaba: Meek states
881 only that "initiation rites . . . have no connection with circumcision." Initiation of boys takes place between their ninth and eleventh years. A boy's maternal uncle acts as his sponsor, providing "the preliminary fee of one chicken": Meek fails to indicate, however, whether initiation in effect unites the tribe, at Kwoi, perhaps, or

[125] A total of 27 villages in the District is listed in the Village Directory of the 1931 Census; three of these are recognized by Administration as Lungu. The largest are: Chori (2,219), Kwai (Kwoi) (3,700), Nok (1,080), Samban Gida (1,043).